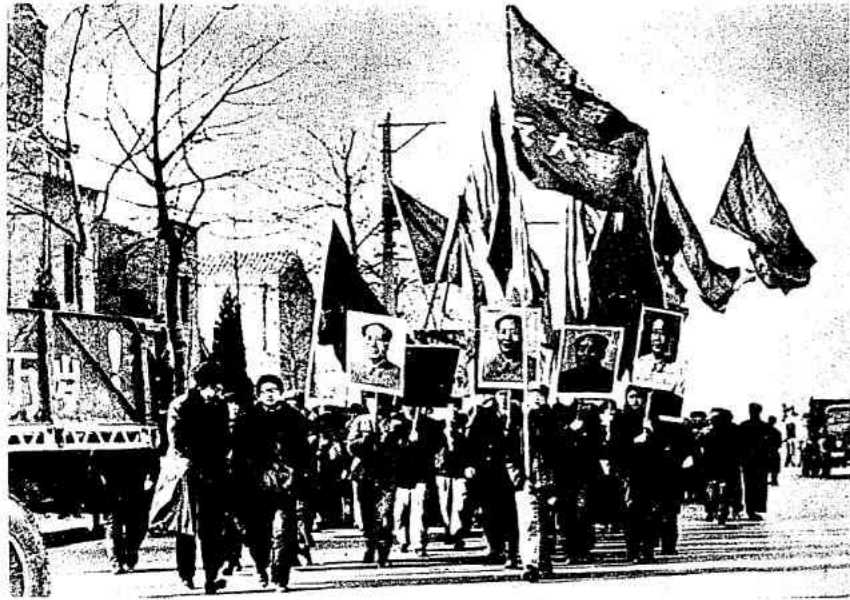


WORONI

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MARCH 16 10c



Red Guards Parading in Peking

Can Times

MAO'S CHINA

The main theme that emerged from Professor Fitzgerald's lecture—"Can we tell what is happening in China to-day?"—was that the extent of the cultural revolution and the size of the upheaval in China has been exaggerated and distorted. It is a deliberate attempt by Mao to boost the morale and revolutionary spirit of the Red Guard, by making them feel as if they are taking part in a great struggle.

CHINA'S FEAR OF U.S. ATTACK

The underlying reason for this, Fitzgerald says, is China's fear of U.S. attack, and Mao's theory that guerrilla war Yenan style is bound to be repeated. That the people must be sufficiently prepared for this is connected with his refusal to take the soft road and resort to Russian revisionism. Fitzgerald also pointed out that due to the rise of Nationalism in Asia, Mao feels that communism is experiencing a low, and while biding his time until the 'great contradiction' occurs he must fortify the base at home and purify the party, and make sure he has a competent successor—hence the purges.

Fitzgerald explained his theory by showing the number of contradictions in reports of the situation. He pointed out the fact that our main source of information comes from Mao himself, and therefore it seems strange that he is continually emphasising the extent of the opposition to his regime. We are not told what the opponents are struggling against, or how organised they are; in fact whether they have any form of organisation at all. The most obvious contradiction is that Liu Shao-Chi, the apparent leader of the opposition group, still holds his position as president of the government and second in command in China. If the wall poster denunciations of Liu were serious, Fitzgerald points out, he would not be still at liberty, still holding his position, or still seen at public functions, (as he was recently, at the celebration of Sun Yat Sen's birthday). As

regards the other public figures who are supposed to have been purged Fitzgerald claims that the reports are also questionable. Referring to the photograph recently published of three 'major figures' including the mayor of Peking, being publicly pilloried, Fitzgerald points out that the faces were unrecognisable. As for the figures who have been definitely deposed; the Chief of General Staff, the Mayor of Peking, and the Chief of the Propaganda Department; their pasts show no 'Russian revisionist' or anti-Mao link suggesting that they are part of a long term plot as Mao claims. In fact they all prove to be anti-Russian.

VIETNAM, MAO AND CHINA

During question time questions were raised ranging from the position of National China, to the political role of Mrs. Mao, but the most significant question was whether Vietnam was regarded as an 'ideological carrot' by Mao. Fitzgerald's answer outlined the fact that seemed to dominate his talk; that is the dismissal of the theory that China is an aggressive and militaristic nation. He pointed out that it is a strongly held Chinese belief that you cannot impose a revolution; that 'people's revolutions' must arise from the desires of the people.

However his whole theory rests on the unprovable supposition that there is actually very little opposition to Mao. But with the world-wide split of Communist parties into pro-Peking and pro-Moscow factions, it is quite credible that there would be a sizeable pro-Soviet element in China.

In his talk Fitzgerald destroyed the picture presented by the western press of China's fanatical Red Guards viciously terrorising the opposition in preparation for the establishment of the military state. Instead he showed the Chinese Communist Party whipping up revolutionary fervour to bolster the regime, partly through fear of China's taking the soft road as Russia has done, and partly through fear of possible U.S. attack.

VIETNAM VIEWS

In Orientation Week, four speakers spoke about the Vietnam war: Messrs. McQueen, Wentworth and Roberts in one session on Thursday, and Mr. Dorrance in a solo talk on Friday. Several hundred people—about equally freshers and others—came to the Thursday show, but only about fifty heard American Embassy Second Secretary Dorrance. Perhaps the large Thursday crowd was because Dr. Knopfmacher had been scheduled to speak, and had only said at the last minute that he was unable to come. This resulted in a change of topic from the previous one of "Intellectuals in Australian Politics." The alteration was rather a shame. I expect the speakers could have dealt with the original topic with both more preparation and less invective. Dr. Roberts said in passing that he regretted not being able to give his original paper, but claimed that one of its conclusions had been well exemplified during the afternoon's proceedings—namely, that there is an appallingly low standard of public intellectual discussion in Australia.

In point of fact, the four speakers all bore out Roberts' point. The Vietnam issue is the most burning foreign policy issue for decades to have impinged on Australia's parochial politics. Yet, regrettably, it's highly conducive to conditioned reflex catch-cries all round, to unseeing American apologetics by the pros and blind propaganda by the antis. A tragic situation, truly, considering that Vietnam may make or break chances of growing political and intellectual maturity in Australia—indeed, even chances of simple freedom.

Mr. Dorrance was an unabashed apologist—presumably his profession leaves him no alternative. The few things he said "off the record" were disappointingly unexciting. He had actually spent two years in Vietnam, and put the American case well. Also he dealt courteously with rude questioners, who gave him little chance to speak before piling rejoinders and interjections on to their original questions. Dorrance dealt with the war as a largely Vietnamese affair in which the Americans were involved by legal and moral obligations. No one asked him why he thought the Australians ought to be there; nor did anyone suggest that Vietnam is largely a lamb on the sacrificial altar of China-containment.

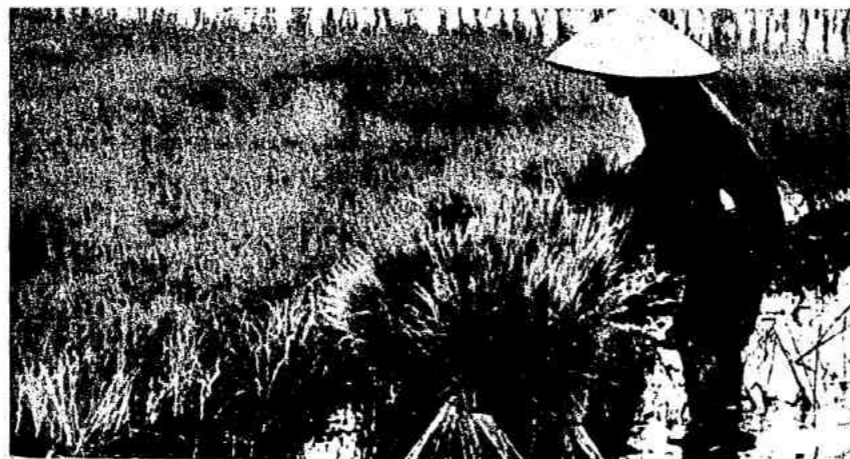
On the other hand, the three Australian speakers were much concerned with possible Chinese threats, and the ill-starred domino theory; as a serious element of debate, this theory should once and all be scrapped. It doesn't do justice to complex situations, and right and left alike waste too much time re-

ferring to it. All three speakers shifted bewilderingly from flippancy to deadly earnestness—apparently a style deemed suitable for undergraduate listeners. All three took precious time off from debating to lamm into their opponents. W. C. Wentworth, the right-wing Liberal M.H.R., in particular used fluent and unscrupulous sarcasm and calumny. For instance, he said—hardly smiling—of McQueen, "He belongs to the camp of people who want us killed. It's as simple as that." McQueen, for his part—he's a Monash postgraduate—indulged in the naivest wishful thinking, apparently genuinely meant. For instance he made a plea against negotiation with the Americans, and in favour of "a complete defeat of the U.S. and their running dogs." "To say that both sides must make concessions is to say that you treat the good and the evil equally." He talked of "international imperialism," and said that although imperialism might be an academic question in the West, "a Vietnamese knows what imperialism is. It's what killed his children." This is emotional wallowing.

McQueen demolished the domino theory by reference to all post-1917 communist regimes. (Wentworth castigated him for this—justifiably—and restricted the theory to the S.E. Asian scene. But he painted the most garish, 1984-ish picture, and referred explicitly and darkly to Orwell. He said: "The domino theory is a correct one. As one of the dominoes in the line, the theory applies to you and me and to all of us.") McQueen even referred to "The domino theory in reverse": according to him, North Korea and Cuba are supporting the N.L.F. because they feel if North Vietnam falls to the Americans, so might they.

Dr. Alan Roberts (a physicist who has been to China) gave the most rational talk, although it wasn't very articulate. He spent the least time fiddling around with the you-know-what theory. He pointed out the disintegrating quality of the former Communist monolith, that the Vietnam War is IN A SENSE (my capitals, not Roberts) a continuing colonial war, that wide problems of poverty and underdevelopment are involved. But neither he nor the others paid attention to the real crux—how, in practice, can America (and Australia) extricate themselves most gracefully from the Vietnam mess? To me this remains more important than all the random historical exhumations tossed around in these talks. Is there a compromise solution? In the atomic age, isn't it perilous to go on regarding negotiated settlements as mere Munichs?

Australian



WORONI



YOUNG ANDREW

How often have we been told that one of the reasons for the low level of political articulation in Australia is that politics is the province of old men? This is not true, for Mr. Andrew Jones, at twenty two the youngest Federal Parliamentarian, has proved himself the equal of his septuagenarian colleagues.

In a maiden speech greeted with giggling embarrassment, young Andrew showed the depths of his understanding on a topic no doubt close to his heart—youth.

Before the House, he stated that he had had "a bellyful of militant, left-wing, long-haired, short-brained, intellectual, high-brow, pseudo-type radicals."

Perhaps his peculiar case of upset stomach is symptomatic of a jaundiced mind—there must be some explanation for the remainder of his speech, or for

the state of his vision since he sees Australian youth as "tall, athletic" and "generally uncluttered" (?), with the highest moral standards in the world.

It is regrettable that young Andrew's speech remained uncluttered with anything that might lead us to suspect that he has recognised any of the real problems confronting youth in Australia. It is regrettable also that his own Mum admits that, on the question of morals, she doesn't know what he means. Perhaps she's one of those bellyaching, militant, left-wing . . .

So much for the new, dynamic image of youth. Young Andrew has yet to learn that a glib tongue solves no problems. It's not surprising, for he may not know of any, if he comes from the social stratum his opinions suggest.

CUTS IN GRANTS

The seriousness of the current financial crisis in universities does not seem to have been realized by either the government or, strangely enough, the universities themselves. As Graham Williams has pointed out (The Australian, March 4th), Senator Gorton has used the Australian Research Grants Committee as a political weapon against the states with the consequence that universities in N.S.W., Victoria, and Tasmania will lose more than \$2 million in income.

One point that must be stressed in all this is that even before the cuts Australian universities were in a pre-

carious position financially. In an article in The Australian Quarterly (March, 1965), A. J. Robinson showed that Australian universities "are staffed by people considerably less qualified on the whole than are universities in Canada and the United States." (p. 26). This is due to the lower salaries paid in Australia and the poorer prospects for promotion, and it may be fairly expected that the cuts will accentuate these deficiencies and lead to a continued drain of scholars overseas. The effects of this will slowly but surely be felt throughout all areas of Australian society.

ORIENTATION WEEK 1967

Roger Mackay is to be congratulated for his handling of Orientation Week. The programme was full and interesting and 'A University 1967' continued the high standards of previous handbooks in a refreshingly new format.

Unfortunately the number of freshers attending functions was unusually low, and it has been suggested that this was partly due to the efforts of two senior

students who told freshers that the venue of the Official Welcome had been changed. If this is so, it is no wonder freshers were rather reluctant to expose themselves to similar practical jokes during Orientation Week.

Woroni regards this incident as extremely unfortunate and hopes that freshers will not be deterred from participating fully in University life.

Next Woroni Thursday, March 30th
Deadline is Monday, March 20th
Copy should be typed double-space on foolscap.
Handwritten copy should be legible and must be handed in two days before the deadline. Copy may be left at the Woroni office or at 31 McCaughey Street, Turner, (49.1802).

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Letters

Sir,
Freedom is definitely a farce as was amply proved the other day in the Union parliamentary debate: "Freedom is a farce."

Mr. Baume said that freedom is not farcical as was exemplified by the message of hope for freedom written across the faces of the people liberated by the Allies in the World Wars. Maybe, but that was early in 20's and 40's; these are late 60's. Freedom is only a secondary matter to the masses to-day; it is the surplus of armaments and deficit in food that concern us most these days. And neither distinguishes between the Free man and the Not-Free man. What value freedom to hungry stomachs?

One suspects that these Freedom Traders only become emotionally subject to their own freedom slogans, forgetting that freedom is a beneficial companion but a fanatical master. Mr. Baume's generation must realise that freedom from oppression is not freedom in itself, and that Hope for Freedom is after all, very subjective in relation to Hope for Life.

Such matters aside, what did the debate prove? That certain members of the House eloquently lacked in vocabulary. One particular member—best described as 'IT'—whose verbosity matched other attributes, accomplished something rare. Carried away by the alliteration of the letter 'F', he said something to say nothing, which meant even less than nothing. Another member conducted himself with the full dignity of a court jester. When given the floor, there emanated from him meaningless, barely audible words, and when banished to the sidelines, there emanated some very audible, guttural sounds, the relevance of which I could hardly understand.

So much for the Government supporters. The next question is, who should have won? No doubt, on the evidence of the proceedings of the debate it should have been the government. Not that the Government members said anything to justify this judgement, but their supporters certainly did prove how farcical is freedom—notably freedom of speech. Great pity it was, too, that when the tide was running so much in favour of the Government, 'IT' came on the stage with his stupid meaningless attack on the Opposition turned the tide—now an emotional one—in favour of the latter.

There was hardly any doubt as to the actual victor, after Mr. Baume acted so well the part of the underdog.

Ironically enough, the very fact that the majority of the members decided to vote for the Opposition purely on the basis of emotion, and ignoring the overwhelming physical and visual evidence as presented by the Government supporters, proves how farcical was our freedom of expression.

One should perhaps contemplate the words of H. D. Thoreau: "We men are only free to be slaves."

Yours,
R. AHUJA.

Sir,
No doubt we have all by now passed through the hands of the new armed structures that guard the doorway of the General Studies library.

Merely passing by the wooden guard box where a friendly library guard surveyed you with lie-detector eyes—such were the good old days.

Those of us who used to wait till the clock struck twelve before rushing up to pass through the three armed bandit, one by one.

An unnecessary and infuriating waste of time, besides the fact that the considerable amount of money spent on the monster could well have been used in buying more books for the decrepit library.

There is also the overshadowing fear of being "handled" by a machine, especially after reports that the new mail-sorting machines at the Sydney G.P.O. chew up the occasional letter when they get the urge.

Yours,
Terry Maher.

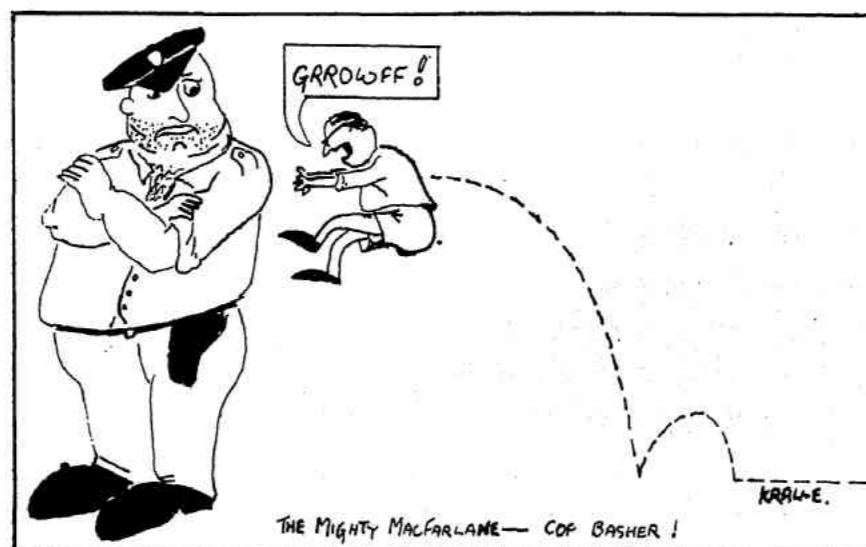
Sir,
In the past we have too often been offered uninteresting Union meals which have not even met the basic requirements of a basic diet. However, the catering manager, Mr. Howard, has made welcome changes in food production and presentation and it is to be hoped that the present standards will be maintained and even improved upon in the future.

Yours,
Margaret Cobb.

WRITE FOR WORONI

Woroni accepts articles, reviews letters and criticism.

Deadline for next issue is Monday, March 20th, 5 p.m.



land reform in south vietnam

by Craddock Morton

The Americans have probably never come closer to analysing the reason for their lack of success than did one high ranking military expert in June, 1965. "Nothing negative has ever prevailed over something positive," he commented. "One of the most frequently asked questions by Vietnamese captains and majors on the battlefield is 'What are we fighting for?' as they look at the political turmoil in their rear area at Saigon." (AUS-TRALIAN 14-6-65).

If he had considered the need for a complete overhaul of the land structure of Vietnam, he would have more completely discovered the truth, for in the history of Vietnam since the Geneva Agreements of 1954, land, or rather, lack of land, has played a dominant part in the attempts to secure a free anti-communist South Vietnam.

Obviously, with a Vietnamese rural population of 85% of the total population, the most important aspect of land reform has been the ownership and control of the productive areas. A brief look at Vietnam between 1954 and 1965 will illustrate this point.

FIRST ATTEMPTS

After the Geneva Agreements of 1954, the most important object was to provide relief to the people unsettled by the war. The refugees who had fled to the coastal strip around Saigon were to a large extent unemployable in that area, whereas, in other parts of the country, particularly in the Mekong delta, there were over 400,000 acres of rice producing land lying fallow. The problem of resettlement was one which the government attempted to solve in their three pronged programme of 1955. In brief they attempted to

- (1) Settle the peasants on abandoned land
- (2) Safeguard tenancy rights by means of land contracts
- (3) To transfer land from large holders to tenants with the aim of reducing the size of land holdings.

In addition to the first aim, which, thanks to inefficient and corrupt local administration, was not successfully started in any real way until 1957, the government also undertook to open up 3.7 million acres of land in the Central Vietnamese highlands; since its inauguration and up to 1961, 210,000 persons had been settled in 147 centres carved from 220,000 areas of wilderness, which in itself was a commendable achievement. But until the system of absentee control, and the breaking down of large estates had been effected, the Vietnamese peasant was in no better a condition than under the pre-1954 system. The land was developed in part for cultivation and then placed in the hands of landlords who parcelled out small shares. Rent was commonly collected at 50% of the crop or more, and debt interest on loans often amounted to 70% of the original loan. (See J. P. Gittinger: Studies on Land Tenure in South Vietnam, Saigon 1959).

LANDLORD EXPLOITATION

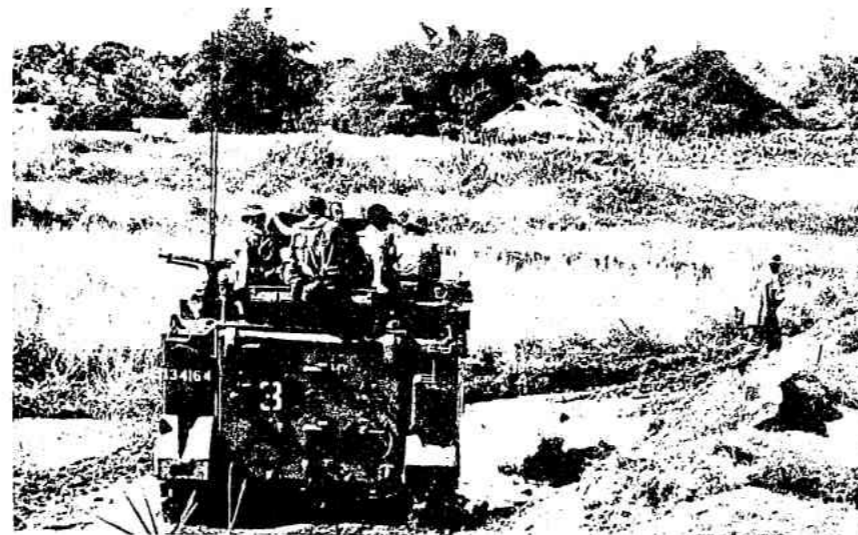
In 1955 however, the Diem government, under extreme social and political pressure, attempted to "solve" the problem of landlord exploitation. This, in effect, was the third aim of the programme of 1955. Landlords were required to give up all individual holdings that exceeded 247 acres (however rubber, tea, and coffee plantations were exempt) and this land was purchased directly by the government, who paid 10% in cash, and the rest in government bonds, maturing over 12 years at 3% annual interest, a risky business with the rapid succession of government depositions!

The peasants then purchased this land directly from the government, and not gaining ownership of the land until the final payment was made. The tenant farmers' contracts were reasonable, limiting rent to no more than 25% of the gross yield, and assuring tenants of a secure holding for three to five years. By the end of 1959, almost 75% of the tenant farmers had signed contracts. Yet the development was not as smooth as it appears. Implementation of the land transfer programme was hampered by complex title preparation, and more important, by the negative attitude and behaviour of many officials responsible for effecting reforms. There was also the ever present problem of the Vietcong. According to James B. Hendry, an economic advisor, any economic development "was more than matched by the large diversion of manpower from agricultural pursuits at the time of peak needs in the fields, the forced labour manner in which manpower was sometimes recruited and organised, the disruption attending the enforced movement of families from established farming communities, and the increased difficulty in farming land some distance from the new towns." However, by the end of 1961, nearly half of the new centres had been integrated into the local government administration.

STRATEGIC HAMLETS

A new attempt at land resettlement was made in 1962, with the system of the strategic hamlet. This system recognised the depths of Vietcong rural control. Beginning in areas of relatively good security, the government attempted to separate the Vietcong from his source of sustenance. The system was doomed to failure, and finally collapsed when Diem was overthrown. The peasants thought the system to be an economic disaster—the government forced them to construct the hamlets instead of farming their cash crop of tobacco. As a result they could produce only 10% of what was normally raised; they were also forced to cut down their bamboo crop, itself a useful cushion crop, to provide defence stakes and fences.

This then was the position in 1963.



Vietnamese Land Reform?

What is the position in 1967? Unfortunately the position has, if anything, deteriorated. Why is this so?

PACIFICATION AND CORRUPTION

Some areas which have for 15 years been administered by the National Liberation Front and which have been vital food bowls, are being physically destroyed by the Americans. This is particularly the case in the "Iron Triangle," and in certain parts of the Mekong delta.

The re-establishment of Saigon control over these areas does nothing however, to solve the basic problem of land reform, and the crucial issue of the low level of incentive to expand output in agriculture.

"When the Vietnamese national army goes back to pacify areas from the Viet Cong, the local landowner goes back with them, offering to serve as an intelligence agent," says Beverley Deepe, an American journalist quoting a Vietnamese general. "Obviously he wants to collect his back rent. So when the army pacifies the area, it pacifies it for the landowner, and not for the peasant. Of course, 35% of the peasants are landless. They become fanatics and will fight for the land given them by the Viet Cong, because it is as important to them as life."

The land reform issue is closely tied to corruption. Ministers and generals are landowners and friends of landowners. Much money passes hands during the issue of land titles, and the scramble for the right to enforce the payment of land rents. The problem of corruption, however, is not limited to the Vietnamese landowners and officials—many Americans are themselves involved. A high ranking official in the U.S. Agency of

have estimated that 30% of American economic aid was unaccounted for in 1964. Another high ranking official is reported as saying that "this is a major American scandal. The way American-generated funds flow out of this country to Paris or back to America—well, it makes your hair curl. Millions upon millions of piastres go to France or Hong Kong and these piastres are generated by American aid funds."

WHAT ECONOMISTS SAY

Finally, how do professional economists assess the role of the peasant in the economic development of Vietnam.

Mr. J. B. Callaghan, managing director of the Commonwealth Banking Corporation and former executive director of the International Monetary Fund in Washington, has said: "Western aid has been channelled into the pockets of corrupt officials or landlords, or absentee landlords. In this way, the aid has unintentionally helped spark resentment among the peasantry and helped Communist propaganda. A tremendous improvement is needed in the exchange of information between the West and Asian countries receiving aid. But to be of real value that information must come up from a country's grass roots—the peasants. That is where all problems begin in Asia and where they will end for us if we do not help more."

A Vietnamese economist speaks the final words: "The people want justice. They don't care if they have democracy or a dictatorship, or if the government comes in with bullets or ballots. They want justice—even if it is harsh. The Viet Cong are harsh, but they are just."

IS GOD DEAD?

Such a purely hypothetical query, based on a single assumption that the 'presence' in point did once have a substance of being such that it might be experienced, lays the way wide open for discussion; discussion which lacked verve and earnestness in the symposium on Tuesday, 28th February, during Orientation Week.

The Reverend Douglas Hobson, speaking during the symposium, offered the explanation of 'God's' being; presumably 'life,' by way of the argument that it is not God who is dead; merely our outmoded conception of him. Such a line of thought immediately calls to mind an image of a 'God'—an almighty being, exstant in any form the believer may choose. Apparently we could then accept the idea of a simply pragmatic 'God.' It was implied that the modern conception which generally allows human beings a free will, has become, mainly owing to the revolt against meta-physics, one of a functional pragmatic standby. The Reverend Hobson stressed the Church's responsibility, while not de-

fending the old concepts of 'God,' to guide our thinking towards an overall idea of the Christian Religion which incorporates more than functional scientific value. He argued that Darwin, Marx and Freud had done the church no small service by throwing light on the concept of a modern God. With such a meeting point being so obviously and openly offered by the Christian church, it is surely worthy of the conscientious thought on the part of the adamant scornors of religion in a scientific world.

Father Gilby, while agreeing in sympathy and understanding with the Reverend Hobson that he is completely 'committed,' though it was not stated clearly whether or not to a certain conception of God or the Christian Religion was meant here, did however, give us some food for thought which may aid our efforts to become as enlightened about our existence as do several theologians and scientists profess to be. He said that though he had never had what is apparently generally considered to be a

'religious' experience, (though both speakers were at pains to explain this), he nonetheless, feels that people who are living in perfect harmony could be said to be experiencing 'God.' He quoted the simple, beautiful example of a man and woman, long married, who have such a sexually harmonising experience that words are unnecessary for communication: no need to ask if the other would like the marmalade at breakfast—simply an innate knowledge of the right time to talk about the household accounts and the right way, in this particular relationship in which to compliment on the cooking.

As a prodder of future serious thought and discussion, the seminar succeeded. However there was too little vitality in argument amongst the listeners, with an absence of any demand for a definition of 'The Church,' and no real explanation of the origins of an almighty being with power over life and, or, death, attempted. What would be the reply of a Mohammedan, a Hindu, a Buddhist or a Jew were a Christian to admit that he believed his conception of 'God' to be out

of date? Surely, one of the first things he would need for a central point of reference, would be a definition of this 'God.' For all the unavoidable shortcomings both in time limitation and too large numbers for a really fruitful discussion, the symposium served to publicise to students, the considerably open-minded attitude of the Christian Church at present. However, owing to the mode of argument being that of too liberal generalisation, audience keenness waned with the decline of highlighting of specific points of conjecture and theology. It is reasonable to suppose, that we as students, at least some of whom are willing to try to seek out the underlying facts of matters, should be taken more into the confidence of those who are satisfied to some extent that they have come somewhere near to finding an acceptable explanation for what is perhaps one of man's greatest emotional problems—that of a superior being.

PATRICIA WILSON

This article is condensed from an address given by Professor Herbst on "The Objectives of University Teaching in the Humanities and Social Sciences" at a seminar recently in Canberra.

The Aims of the Academy

by Peter Herbst

I will address myself to the aims of University Education in general and I will permit myself the liberty to make some remarks about research as well, because I do not think that the two topics can well be treated separately.

In what follows I propose to make two assumptions which I hope that you will grant to me. The first is that since you and I constitute the university (we are not its servants) and since, though not unhampered, we are with regard to our work still relatively free agents, it is a sensible question for us to ask ourselves "What aims shall we pursue?" We seem to be able, within limits, to make a choice in this sphere. The second assumption is that the general attitudes of the world beyond our gates are more or less given. They are determined by influences outside our control, and we cannot simply choose to modify them. At best we can hope to have a very indirect and long-term influence on them.

My purpose in this paper is to ask the question "What aims shall we pursue?" "On the basis of what values shall we act?" But because the university is so intimately interconnected with the outside world and cannot operate in a vacuum, and more particularly, because we are all of us also members of society and imbued with the values and aims which are unquestioningly accepted by the world which surrounds us, we must not ask these questions without attempting to achieve a critical understanding of social values and aims. In other words we must link the deliberative question concerning our own aims and purposes with the analytical question of what the aims and values of society actually are.

The task of describing the actual ethos of the society in which we live is not an easy one. The method on which I propose to rely here employs the idea of a schematized model for an ethos, which is to be outlined starkly and boldly, without much mention of the persons or social groups which it fits. The potential virtues of such a model will be its coherence and scope, together with its potential explanatory power, its possible defects will be incoherence, flatness, and lack of explanatory power for a given social group, supposing the model to be apt for them.

The question of whether the model fits a given social group, whether it is apt for them that is to say, is a separate question and to answer this question correctly does require considerable insight into the workings of societies, and something of the eye of a sociologist or anthropologist.

Consumer Model

The model which I propose to introduce here does seem to me to fit our own society pretty well, and particularly those social groups in it which are at all influential or managerial and have power to affect the life and structure of universities. It is not conceived of as the only possible model for our society, but only as the dominant one. There are cross-currents and also, even amongst those whom it fits best, there may be occasional doubts and hesitations. With these preliminary warnings I introduce it, and request you to consult your own judgment to see whether the cap fits the head for which it is intended.

If I may begin with a cliché: we live in a society of consumers. It is true the newspapers, the pundits, and the politicians are forever exhorting us to production, and seem to regard the expansion

of production as the greatest good, but production is conceived of as a mere correlative of consumption. We either produce what we anticipate that we will consume, or we produce the means of accelerated production, machines that is to say. Sometimes we even produce the means of accelerated consumption, as in the advertising industry. Society as a whole is here conceived as acting on the presupposition that consumption is the only worthwhile human function, and the indefinite expansion of the production-consumption cycle together with the unhampered freedom to produce and consume, are the only worthwhile ends of action.

That is the key to an attitude to work, which results in its systematic confusion with labour. Its nature, its extent and its functions are entirely determined by our conception of the finished product, which in its turn is calculated to provide satisfactions. Thus we think of the work of a man as always in principle replaceable by the operations of a machine, and like it,—like real labour, (tilling the fields for instance) as repetitive and only contingently related to its end.

A productive process is contingently related to its product if the same product can be the outcome of a fundamentally different process, so that according to expediency and technological progress, one process can be substituted for another. For instance human beings can be killed in infinitely many ways: they can be shot, starved, poisoned, strangled and dismembered, and each method has a technology to back it, each belongs to a different branch of human knowledge. But my contention is that the state of being educated, to choose a significant example, is non-contingently related to the processes of education. Nothing but the educative process can conceivably achieve the ends of education, and the process itself can only be administered by the educated. To describe the process of educating is constantly to advert to what it is to be educated, conversely to describe the state of being educated is constantly to advert to its genesis in the educative process. Here process and end product are intimately linked by the closest conceptual ties.

Labour & Work

The distinction between labour and work is roughly this: labour is a means to an end, and it is always possible in principle that a totally different kind of labour will produce the same end as some given type. In addition, it now seems that labour is in principle eliminable from any given productive process by improved technology: for instance the labour of drawing water has disappeared, though the labour of making mechanical pumps has not yet disappeared. With automation it too may disappear soon.

Labour is directed to consumption. The products of labour subservise and disappear in the life-process itself. An obvious example is agricultural labour which produces food, which is consumed in actual living. For our purposes labour which produces houses, washing-machines, motor cars, armaments, and the equipment needed for amusement, are in the same position. All these commodities, albeit more slowly, are consumed in the life-process itself, or as in the case of armaments in the death-process. Labour is never directed solely to the product which it produces, but to the support of that facet of life in which the products are consumed.

Finally, as I have said, labour is contingently related to its product. There is no product to which a given kind of labour, except within the narrow confines of a limited stage of technological development, is essential, but rather all labour is in principle replaceable by another kind, or after automation, by none at all.

The concept of work must be conceived as contrasting with that of labour. Labour and work are opposites rather than variants of the same thing. Work is conceived fundamentally as definable by its product, and not at all by the satisfactions which these products procure, nor the various uses to which they may or may not be put.

Work leads to the work, the opus, the oeuvre that is to say. The product of a man's work is his handiwork, or his creation, and the two are non-contingently related. The workman makes his work. He does not avail himself of contingent instrumentalities for bringing it about. He takes such pride as he has, in his work and not in its consumption or in the satisfaction to be derived from its consumption. The work of a workman's hands may sometimes be consumable, for instance a chair, and sometimes not, for instance a mathematical proof or a string quartet. It is at any rate, governed by conceptions of excellence for the product and not by satisfactions to be derived from its consumption.

I said above that the point of a labourer's labours lies in the consumption of his product. If it is not consumed he has laboured in vain. Now by way of contrast, the point of a workman's exertions lies in his handiwork, and if, as in the case of the string quartet, it is un-consumable, then so much the better. Incidentally, I do not deny that some musicians do compose stuff that might well be labeled consumption music, music which disappears after a brief period and derives its sole justification from the fact that it hammers people into forgetfulness, or stimulates them to love, war or labour. Such musicians are labourers, not workmen, as I conceive it.

Now, to return to the model of the consumer's ethos. The concept of work has all but disappeared, or else it is confounded with the concept of labour. Every-one labours for a span, and then has fun recuperating from his labour. The labour-fun cycle, like night and day, is exhaustive and if it were not for automation, would be without end. The labourers exert themselves for society, that is to say for the sake of the human satisfactions which their products are conceived as subserving, but they need not care for the products as such; the good which they claim to be doing for society rather than their handiwork is their monument.

Indifference to the intrinsic character of a thing leads to its degradation. This manifests itself in the tendency to use it, and discard it without appreciation of its own nature. That which is so degraded is expendable. Since the whole of its raison d'être lies in that which it will procure, it matters not if it is destroyed after it has performed its function.

The consumer's society degrades whatever it touches, work, nature, art, its own history and traditions and above all, the creations of men of genius. Work being confused with labour is but toil, the process of production is wholly distinct from, and merely instrumental to the product; it is the product which is desired, not the process. Further, just as the products of the labour of a subsistence farmer are unmemorable, short-

lived, and destined for consumption, so also, in the consumption-structure of sophisticated production. Since the process of producing is nothing but a troublesome condition of carrying on with the day-to-day life-process itself, and subserves what we call "high living standards," we abandon it with relief and turn to its natural counter-pole, which is to say play (or fun—as the newspapers now call it). This increasingly becomes the really serious business of our lives; besides it has the advantage of opening up quite unlimited new opportunities for consumption. We are left only with labour, from which we desire to be emancipated, and fun, which is the arena of our most refined achievements in consumption, as well as the locus of most of our satisfactions. The work of our hands and minds is degraded into a mere means to an end, a consumer's commodity that is to say. Thus between the notion of labour, directed purely to providing for consumption and lacking intrinsic worth, and the notion of play, which absorbs our productive energies and is the arena of our satisfactions, there is no intermediate realm. Our works and our personalities, being bereft of value and dignity, have



Bust of Socrates, who taught by professing ignorance.

of work rather than labour, and the objects to the achievement of which the academy thought itself committed, were conceived as of intrinsic worth, as lasting monuments to the men who achieved them.

These objects were twofold, namely the pursuit of learning (or enquiry as I propose to call it) and the education of the young. They seem to me to be the proper aims of the academy still. Unfortunately they are in danger of being lost. If they are lost, it will not be as a result of an open change of policy, but imperceptibly, ostensibly under the old ethos still. They will be lost, like liberty in a society grown totalitarian in the defence of liberty. Whatever happens, even in 1984, we will continue to affirm the academic credo in which the pursuit of learning and the education of the young are the principal tenets. But it seems unlikely that the words will continue to mean what they have meant traditionally. It seems that the pursuit of learning will transmute into the pursuit of skills via the pursuit of know-how, called knowledge, and that education will become instruction, simpliciter. It seems probable that the matter of education will increasingly be parcelled out into one or other of two broad categories, on the one hand essential knowledge, that is, knowledge which is good for some purpose, and luxury knowledge, a sort of prestigious top-dressing on the other. It is possible even that the pursuit of luxury knowledge will altogether disappear from the syllabus, and that activities which fall within its sphere will become extra-curricular. There will be concerts, exhibitions, poetry-readings and meditation-sessions, and these will be calculated to perform a function in that parcel of life which is now called recreation.

Service Universities

We have to admit that we are sufficiently imbued with the ethos of our era, for the thought that universities are primarily for the service of society, to be natural to us. Thus we conceive of our role in terms of the satisfaction of social needs. When we naturally look at the market to see what sort of graduate it will absorb, and when we plan research we either think of it as training or as immediately addressed to the satisfaction of social needs. I have said the university is traditionally a place of work rather than a place of labour, and I have expressed the fear that in future the reverse may be the case. But I am aware that there is at least one undoubted current development in our universities which seems to belie my pessimistic prognosis, and that is the enormous importance which we attach to research. Research, it seems, is work rather than labour and so in proportion as we enhance the fortunes of research in the academy, we re-affirm our traditional role, and counteract the worst excesses of the consumer's society. I argue that this thesis is plausible but exaggerated.

There are few images as appealing as the image of ourselves as adding to the sum of human knowledge. Knowledge seems to us like a vast impersonal edifice, a house of many mansions, to which, by the sheer exercise of our industry and wit, we can add a brick or even a room. Can anything other than research qualify more obviously as work, can there be any other object which by their efforts men produce, which more clearly than knowledge bears the stamp of human genius?

Nevertheless universities do not fit well into a consumer's society, at least not without suffering a sort of radical sea change. The ethos of a university has in the past been principally an ethos

Yet I think that this pretty image does more than justice to most contemporary academic research. Much of this work is undertaken as labour rather than work. Work directed to the attainment of knowledge is called enquiry, thus I can formulate my point by saying that much of the research in which we rest our loftiest claims, is undertaken in the spirit of service, or in the course of the expansion of the research-empire, rather than in the spirit of enquiry.

It must be admitted that even if research is sometimes trivial, or the work is dull, it can never descend to the level of labour per se. But it can be undertaken in a society grown totalitarian in the defence of liberty. Whatever happens, even in 1984, we will continue to affirm the academic credo in which the pursuit of learning and the education of the young are the principal tenets. But it seems unlikely that the words will continue to mean what they have meant traditionally. It seems that the pursuit of learning will transmute into the pursuit of skills via the pursuit of know-how, called knowledge, and that education will become instruction, simpliciter. It seems probable that the matter of education will increasingly be parcelled out into one or other of two broad categories, on the one hand essential knowledge, that is, knowledge which is good for some purpose, and luxury knowledge, a sort of prestigious top-dressing on the other. It is possible even that the pursuit of luxury knowledge will altogether disappear from the syllabus, and that activities which fall within its sphere will become extra-curricular. There will be concerts, exhibitions, poetry-readings and meditation-sessions, and these will be calculated to perform a function in that parcel of life which is now called recreation.

Enquiry and research-labour cannot be distinguished by subject matter, except insofar as some subject matter is intrinsically so simple and dull, that it could not possibly constitute a challenge to the intellect. Therefore it is always an open possibility that practical problems, or problems which exercise the non-academic world, may also be suitable subjects for enquiry. Uselessness is not a mark of quality. But the criteria of excellence of the work of enquiry are intellectual, and the point of enquiry is the meeting of a challenge to the intellect, which will satisfy these wholly non-utilitarian criteria.

My remarks are intended as a criticism of the ethos and direction of research in a consumer's society. I hope no one will interpret them as an attack on the activity of enquiry, which, with teaching, is the co-equal core of the academic tradition which I support.

Teaching

Now I come to teaching. This presents us with our thorniest problem. It is in our attitudes to students that we most clearly show whether we accept or reject the ethos of consumption. Our traditions demand that we should educate our students. Success in the processes of education produces educated men and women. The process results in the state of being educated. This is a state of persons rather than a relation between persons and the societies in which they live. It cannot be functionally or pragmatically defined. Education is one of the excellences of which human beings are capable, and just as the excellence of a painting cannot be defined (except derivatively) in terms of its monetary value or its usefulness in a certain social situation, so also, the state of being educated cannot be defined in careerist or social-utility terms.

We are here to educate students. An educated student is one in whom certain potentialities are developed, including the potentiality for work in a certain field. Students are intelligent or stupid before they come to us, but we develop their intelligence, we teach them to use it, to apply it, to delight in its exercise. An educated man is sensitive, perceptive, daring in imagination, subtle in distinction, lucid and powerful in reasoning, and articulate. An educated student under-

stands the enterprise of enquiry. This may take the form of reflection, discussion or internal dialectic and need not consist in writing monographs. For instance, the preparation of a creative lecture is also part of the enterprise.

Once the student's interest in enquiry is awoken, he projects himself into the work as a committed man. The education of a student is an end in itself, and the making of him is our noblest work. This work requires no further justification, and I suggest that by attempting to justify it further, in terms of the values of the consumer society, we only succeed in undermining it.

The consumer mentality makes education well nigh impossible. In its more insidious forms consumer education moulds the student, not in his own interests, but in the alleged interests of society. The student and his skills are debased into a mere means for the achievement of social ends. Society needs specialists in this field and experts in that. Allegedly it is our task to produce them. The student becomes a consumer good. He is there for the performance of certain kinds of labour which will procure satisfactions for his fellow citizens, and we the teachers are there in order to train him in the skills which will make him a useful instrument in procuring these satisfactions. No one needs to care about his qualities; the development of his personality ceases to matter, provided that he performs the part which the diviners of social needs have cast for him.

The replacement of education by instruction is a serious matter. It naturally goes hand in hand with the abandonment of any real student-teacher relationship, which in its turn is the inevitable result of the mass-production techniques which are now being forced on us. Instruction is an essentially practical enterprise in which a set skill, or a standard quota of information is imparted for a purpose. The point of instruction is to suit the subject to a task. Thus soldiers are instructed in the use of weapons, and trainee-policemen are instructed in their duties. Instruction is standardized, uncritical, undialectical and discourages speculation about ends and means alike.

In my view education is an essentially dialectical enterprise, critical, discursive and largely idiosyncratic on the teacher's and student's side alike. It is true that much education presupposes the mastery of certain skills, and the possession of a certain amount of information, and that these cannot always be acquired by reading alone. They are ancillary to education. In the consumer's society, however, they tend to replace it.

In this paper I have advocated a conception of the academy in which its proper aims, enquiry and education, are conceived in opposition to the alleged needs of society. I should like to end by saying that I am not really asking you to be indifferent to the fate of your fellow men, to be anti-social, to use the current idiom. I do not think that the consumer's ethos serves its exponents well. Not only does it undermine the human personality, but it also makes men unhappy. While it may help to abolish the miseries of disease and want, it also destroys that freedom of the spirit which is a condition of the enjoyment of worldly things.

We do not really do a service to humanity by abandoning our traditional values. A society is no better than the men who compose it. If by education we produce men and women of excellence, we need not be ashamed.

n.g. economic development

Mr. E. K. Fisk, of the Research School of Pacific Studies, in the course of his Orientation Week talk on the economy of Papua and New Guinea, attempted four things: to sketch the main characteristics of the economy, to examine the motive forces in its operation and growth, to evaluate its present performance, especially in the light of Australian financial aid, and to indicate the main developmental problems which remain to be overcome. The following is a resume of his main points, taking each of these topics in turn.

Main Characteristics

The economy of the territory is characterised, firstly, by a very large, and relatively affluent, subsistence sector, from which the greater part of the indigenous population obtains its basic necessities on a fairly ample scale and without having to work unduly long hours. Even of those who have moved into cash cropping or wage labour, many still obtain a large part of their basic supplies from the subsistence sector and nearly all are in a position to dispense with their cash incomes and to return to a subsistence mode of life, without serious hardship, if at any time it becomes necessary.

Secondly, there is a smaller, but quite active and rapidly expanding monetary sector, based mainly on the operations of government, export-oriented agriculture and mining and the service industries associated with them. The two sectors overlap in that most indigenous families have some cash income and expenditure, and most wage and salary earners receive some part of their family income either directly or by traditional exchange from the subsistence sector. However, functionally the two sectors are quite distinct.

Economic growth is mainly confined to the monetary sector, because only with the facility of markets and monetary exchange is the necessary specialization, capital formation, division of labour and diversification of production possible. On the other hand, the largest part of the surplus labour and land available for development is concealed in the subsistence sector, awaiting the catalyst of monetary exchange to enable them to be combined into productive forms. Hence, the spread of the monetary sector, and its penetration and permeation of the subsistence sector, is an essential precursor to effective large-scale economic development.

Motive Forces

As the subsistence sector is concerned with the direct satisfaction of personal needs from local resources, it is able to proceed more or less under its own momentum. This can be expected to continue as long as pressure on resources such as land and manpower is not heavy and the level of subsistence production continues to be determined primarily by personal requirements rather than by

considerations of the optimum utilization of resources; as the monetary sector grows, it is to be expected that subsistence needs will be transferred more and more to the market sector. This is the enabling factor for economic development: the faster the transfer, the more rapid will be economic growth. However, this is a gradual process and indigenous commitment to the monetary sector is still small.

The government segment is the most important of the three main components of the monetary sector. Australian financial aid is channelled through the territory government and through Australian Commonwealth departments and instrumentalities. Expenditure in the public sector is thereby greatly enhanced, and within the monetary sector, public expenditure forms a very large share of total market expenditure. In addition, a considerable part of the commercial and industrial activity outside the public sector consists in the supply of goods and services to public servants and to contractors working for the government. By 1965 the proportion of economic activity in the monetary sector which depended ultimately on the flow of funds to the public sector (and thus, largely, on Australian finance), would have been substantially larger than 53 per cent. Australian contributions to total public expenditure in the territory increased fairly steadily from \$37.4m. in 1961 to \$71.0m. in 1965. In other words, Australia has financed directly just over two thirds of all public expenditure in the territory during the past five years. Without this support, nothing approaching the present level of economic activity could be maintained for long; the size of the monetary sector, to which economic growth as we know it is largely confined, would be drastically reduced, and the rate of growth, therefore, very much less.

Present Performance

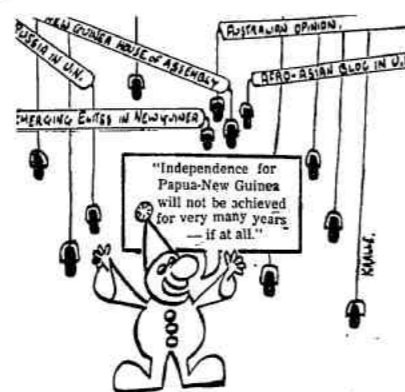
A study of the national income estimates for the years 1961 to 1965 inclusive, indicates increasing economic activity in general, although the overall increase is not great, amounting to something over 6 per cent per annum. Mr. Fisk, however, considered it a little early to be able to judge the overall performance of the economy: although growth in the commodity-producing sectors, and particularly in primary production, has been encouraging, it has been considerably slower than the growth in total activity in the monetary sector. This is because the present growth in primary production stems mainly from development activity undertaken some years earlier, so that the growth effect of the greatly increased aid of recent years is not yet apparent in statistics now available. This aid is being applied in very large part to the development of the infrastructure of the economy in order to create a suitable environment for the development and exploitation of productive resources by private enterprise. The success or otherwise of this policy, he considered, will depend on how the reaction of private enterprise

to these opportunities comes up to expectations. The evidence on this point is so far inconclusive but some indications suggest that in one or two vital sectors this reaction may be lagging.

Moreover, ministerial statements from Canberra confirm that the basic philosophy of the World Bank Report, which depends heavily on non-indigenous private enterprise for the initial all-important lift to primary production, is being followed. This means that the plantation sector has a leading role not only as an originator of an important part of the initial boost to production, and hence to revenue and export income, but as a source of economies of scale and external economies vital to the rapid growth of indigenous small-holder production. If the private plantation sector fails to operate

as a leading sector on the required scale, its place in the programme will have to be taken by greatly increased government outlays in support of large-scale coordinated indigenous enterprise (as in large-scale land development schemes) or by state enterprise. If this role is not filled adequately and quickly, nothing approaching a politically acceptable rate of growth would seem possible.

Mr. Fisk's talk was unfortunately brief, and he was unable to spend much time discussing his fourth point, namely, the main development problems yet to be overcome. One important point which he mentioned, but was unable to develop at length, is that the whole edifice of the economy as it is being constructed is dependent on the availability of relatively large numbers of highly trained and skilled personnel. This requirement cannot possibly be met in anything approaching the necessary quantity or quality from the territory's own resources for many years to come. A disturbing feature in recent years has been the increase in the number of resignations and retirements of skilled and experienced officers of the territory public service. Political uncertainties and the possibility of early termination of a career are tending to raise the inducement price necessary to bring skilled expatriates to the country. It has yet to be shown that the necessary inflow of adequately qualified and competent expatriates can be attracted on a temporary basis to meet the needs of the next few years.



PRESENTING MR. BARNES - DIPLOMAT!

Julie O'Brien

shaping the hollow

Two books to take our bearings from: Sarraute's *Les fruits d'or* and Roland Barthes' *Essais critiques*. In an entirely novel way, each is a Baedaker to the literary practice of our times, and each offers a remarkable number of studio-truths. For a start, both Sarraute and Barthes are fully conscious of the unbridgeable gulf between criticism and writing. Sarraute's novel is the fleshing of this abstraction; incisively, she delineates the rise and fall in popularity and critical esteem of a novel entitled "The Golden Fruits." Thumbed over at cocktail parties and faculty meetings, it becomes for a short time a part of in-group orthodoxy. To praise it is mandatory. To justify the praise is another step, and its admirers exercise their brains in adapting old categories to fit it or devising new ones, categories that range from the old apothecary-shop labels of "realist" or "classical" to obscure formulae that approach the book in terms of the new signification of words. A few months pass: reaction begins: parasite biographers burrow into the author's past and reveal a seamy life-span at odds with his noble reputation; critics who had revelled in the book simply forget it and turn to greet new prize-winners.

The reception of a non-existent novel: perhaps it seems a strangely theoretical theme for fiction, but only if we continue to think exclusively in genre-terms. On one level, *Les fruits d'or* can be read as sociology, an expose of the mechanics of acclaim and rejection in an intellectual society notorious for the profusion of its literary prizes and its passionate adherence to fashion. But Sarraute is saying "how it is" in a much more general sense. "The Golden Fruits," the novel that supplies the subject for her novel, is seen to be remote from, even irrelevant to life. Its phrases, the gestures of its characters, are literary movements, not human ones, offering no answer to human problems, no living picture. The simpletons who read their own emotions, their own experience, into its calculated phrases use it in the way a schoolboy uses an erotic picture for masturbation. The life is not

there. Any novel, to be successful, must end as one of these "golden fruits" that can deceive us for a moment as Zeus's grapes on canvas deceived the insects. Sager and better-read, we see it as something whole and contrived, spherical, hard, impermeable—something our teeth would break on. That is Sarraute's statement about literary creation, and her statement about criticism is a direct corollary. If (to use Barthes' formulations) literature is a mode of signification at a remove from life, a supreme refinement of language, criticism is an art practised at an even higher altitude, relevant (unless a form of merchandising or instruction) to nothing except its own structures, existing and evolving only for their own sake.

Homeostatic Systems

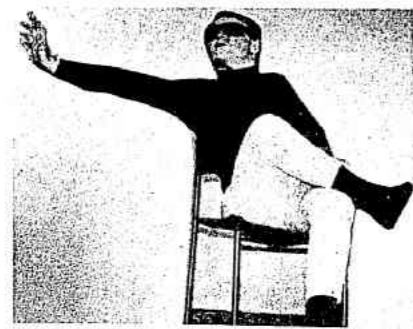
Barthes has written of literature and criticism as systems to be defined as homeostatic, that is to say, "as systems whose function is not to communicate an objective meaning, preexisting the system and external to it, but only to create a functional equilibrium"—to say nothing but what is said. This can seem like the ancient "ivory tower" depiction of literary pursuits time-scrubbed and given a scientific scaffolding. To approach literature in this way at first seems to deny its social relevance. In fact, Barthes is an excellent practising sociologist as well as a critic, and he is concerned with far more than the presentation of literature as an independent "mode of signification" renewing itself and creating new structures. What has happened is that he has been acute enough to observe that most "sociological" approaches to literature work by either analogy or the dogmas of determinism. More than that, he has offered a general—if formalized—picture of the relation of the superstructures to evolving social life and manufactured many fertile new terms. I shall return to his work—and that of his colleague, Lucien Goldmann—in the next issue.

Robert Moss



Group of women tea pickers at Garaina, N.G.

THE REVUE — UGH!



This year's Orientation Week Revue—'Ugh, or How I Learnt To Stop Worrying And Love University,' produced by John Stephens was certainly aimed at freshers. This provides a ready made point of departure for criticism along the lines of whether it was a good introduction to the quality of university drama both in terms of breadth of satiric comment and standard of production.

The show was divided into two parts, entitled respectively "The Insular World" and "The Outside World." The first part contains some solid comment on University life—Stephen's "Mr. Well-Prepared" has caught the atmosphere of tutorials with its picture of that thoroughly annoying phenomenon the tutorial monopolist. "Waiting at the Union" warns the freshette of the lure of Union-lounging by hitting at the daylight occupation of an interesting section of the female undergrad populace. Moving away from campus life to supposed campus topics, we find such sketches as "Confession," an oblique, well-presented satire on the current attitude to homosexuality, and "Vicarious Experiences," an apt, if laboured, tirade against the sensationalist tactics of publishers of censored books.

The second part of the programme attempts to level its attacks upon the idiosyncracies of our society—pop-singers, advertisers, conservatives, and other cultural misadventures. But the best skit of the second half was "Riding to Canterbury"—an extremely good vehicle for this

sort of revue, a witty, insinuating adaptation of the Canterbury Tales, using medieval song form and containing the sort of light-hearted baudiness that no doubt amused Chaucer's original audience. Social comment is perhaps best represented in the "Goldilocks" script, with its fantastic distortion of snobbery and sex, though "Demonstration," in the exuberant, zany hands of Stephens, and based, believe it or not, on an actual event, was a real feast for those who appreciate those weird aspects of Australian life summed up in the "Everidges."

BAD TASTE, BAD SATIRE

There are other scripts however, which miss the mark and for reasons which deserve some comment, particularly since this revue is to many their first introduction to campus drama. One such is "Art Lover," by J. Stephens, which by sending-up the practice of having miniature reprints of the Great Masterpieces on the backs of cigarette packets, has the makings of an excellent satire on the utter banality of such commercial culture for the masses. Unfortunately, the author could not resist the temptation of occasional facile word-play on words such as the 'Loo.' Though he strives manfully, he has yet to join that microscopic minority that can produce humour out of toilets.

But humour fathered in toilets points to a greater flaw in the whole programme. The major failing in the scripts was that they were 'forced' satire to the extent of

being pointlessly tasteless. An instance—in an extremely well-presented song, "Yen for Men" is the line, 'I might let the whole world do me . . .,' an ambitious possibility, but with little humour content; Likewise the "Make Love Not War" script. As far as social comment goes, the audience is expected to roar with laughter when a blind pianist falls flat on his face (bitter slapstick surely), and at the private nightmares of drug-addicts. That ever-popular minority with unimaginative humourists, the Jews, are the objects of a stale collection of sniggering asides which culminate in an unbelievably weak pun based on supposed Yiddish accents. Daggoes in O'Connor always raise a laugh, apparently. But only for those whose imagination is as constricted as the author of the script expects it to be.

BANALITY

But while the scripts lack subtlety (and often point) and the programme lacks balance (not a major fault providing a high level in the scripts), the cast, direction and production were almost uniformly good. It is frankly difficult to believe that this is Stephens' first venture as a producer—he is almost as good a producer as he is an actor. With those two accomplishments, it is a pity he was constrained to attempt to be a script-writer.

The cast match Stephens' production—they are all competent, even while dealing with material on which their talents were wasted. Music was, as is usually the case with A.N.U. drama, a vigorous partner.

Little things can, according to the bards, bring great enterprises to naught. This could almost be instanced in the role of poor writing for this revue, but two qualifications are needed. First, poor material is not a little thing, but an indicator of a serious lack of imagination and ignorance of the subtleties of satire, and secondly, drama on campus, is a continuing enterprise and its continuing aspect is the extremely high quality of production.

Elizabeth Carroll and John Iremonger.



PHIL WHEELER AS CHRISTOPHER ROBIN

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coming films

"The Trial" USA. Starring Anthony Perkins, Orson Welles, Romy Schneider. Directed by Orson Welles. Physics Lecture Theatre, Thursday, 16th March, 8 p.m.

Ever since its first screening in Australia, this film has consistently drawn full houses and favourable critiques. It has been shown on television but this has in no way affected audiences at cinema screenings. Therefore if consistent popularity is any guide, "The Trial" is a must for the film enthusiast. However there are further reasons which justify attention to the film, not the least of which is the startling use of contrasted depth and claustrophobic close-up to create realistic nightmare. These techniques, associated with the hopeless and depressing fatalism of the plot, combine to produce a harrowing voyage into the near and unknown chaos which lurks beneath the rigid order of a conditional existence.

It is the story of Joseph K, virtual human automaton, who suddenly finds himself inextricably caught in an unexplained conflict with the mysterious Authority, which hounds him, entices him, terrifies him and destroys him. He degenerates from seizing optimistic self-assurance to becoming a willing participant in his own downfall.

The film which begins in the huge spacious housing complex of the sinister society, soon shifts, through the mechanised and terrifyingly ordered offices, to the crumbling halls of authority and as it moves, so diminish the hopes of the un-informed victim, Joseph K. Technically speaking it is intricate and fascinating, but occasionally the use of thematic devices becomes contrived and repetitive.

"Council of the Gods" Germany, 1955. Directed by Kurt Maetzig. Physics Lecture Theatre, Thursday, 23rd March, 8 p.m.

Although fictional, this film was inspired by the Nuremberg Trials of Nazi armament makers and the evidence in the Kilgore Report to the US Senate. With disturbing realism it ventures into the bottomless pit of the horrors in Second World War Nazi Germany. It shows the inner working of a great chemical trust, how it aided Hitler, and helped to lead Germany to war. It has been described by the London Times as containing "astounding technical power and mastery" and by the London Film User as "consistently interesting, well acted and impressively staged."

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arcady and other places

Arcady and Other Places, Vincent Buckley's latest book of verse, shows a great advance in range and style by one of Australia's major poets.

This is the more gratifying as his previous volume, *Masters in Israel*, suffered from a constrictingly narrow range of subjects and emotions. Poem after poem in *M. in I.* presents the same mood of gently erotic world-tenderness (the post-concupiscent mood of Donne's "And now goodmorrow to our waking soules"); and poem after poem presents this mood as a foretaste of the Christian vision of love. The result of Mr. Buckley's concentrating on this one emotion and projecting it upon external reality is that the Universe shrinks to be the macrocosm of a very special type of man, the Christian lover; his landscapes bear too monotonously the lineaments of gratified desire ("The sudden breasts of the green, fruitful hills"); and the otherness of things external is shirked.

By contrast *Arcady* shows a far greater range of subject, and (significantly) a change of style. Vincent Buckley's earlier poems had two rather opposed qualities: the lucid defining intelligence of an academic critic, and at the same time a nebulous romanticism that always tempted him to make rather indefensible 'apocalyptic' gestures—e.g. "And the poet strangling words/That came like gusts of blood in a strange language."

But in *Arcady* the romanticism temporarily retires; lucidity and analytical precision dominate; and while Mr. Buckley remains as determined as ever to assert a metaphysical view of humanity, he has clearly schooled himself to avoid asserting the kinds of mystical significances that cannot satisfy common sense. Before transcending the mundane world one must first comprehend it.

The fruits of this chastened style appear in his long opening poem, *Strike*—the description of the hospital visit in the faint blue light
We are both strangers; so I'm forced to note
His stare that comes moulded from deep bone.
The full mouth pinched in too far, one hand
Climbing an aluminium bar
Put, as though for the first time,
In a cot from which only a hand escapes.
He grasps at opposites, knowing
This room's a caricature of childhood.
'I'm done for.'

This will probably prove to be Mr. Buckley's mature style. The verse paragraph is not of itself striking, but his verse does not normally aim to be particularly memorable or potent in its individual lines and paragraphs. What it does do is to render exactly the quality of the experience described. The whole description as it builds up slowly, precisely, stanza by stanza, comes to have the power and the reality of a death sequence by a great novelist.

The same quiet precision of tone also appears in *Parents*:
My father asks me how I stand it all,
The work, the debts, the spite. My mother talks

As though I were a famous man and yet
Unguarded somehow, too fragile to touch.
It is their needs, not mine, that flutter here

and in *Two Funerals*.
Together with this more objective style comes a more outward-going less solipsist mentality. His honeyeater—
the honey-bird's long beak
Stabs and nuzzles in the honeyed core,
In the bronze air vibrating like a gong—
inhabits demonstrably the Australian bush and not merely the landscape of the author's mind.

This alteration of style is Mr. Buckley's first great change. The second new strain is an enriching contact with the Latin classics—a sort of personal renaissance—which has resulted most notably in the third section of the book in eight very competent translations from Catullus.

REVIEWS

Easily the best is *Furi et Aureli*, ending
take her this message,
That self-consuming, all-consuming slut
Who with her troop of lovers breaks all
Joins,
Draining their passion as she has drained
my love years now. Go to her
Tell her she needn't bother with my love;
Her treachery has stripped it like a flower
On the field's edge, first withered, then
falling,
ploughed in the turning earth,
which in its final cadence re-creates
perfectly the shape and feeling of Catul-

lus' *Postquam tactus aratrost.*

Overall in the eight pieces however there seems to be some lack of sympathy between author and translator. Mr. Buckley's characteristic use of language is too transparent, too expository; his strength is the ability to render the precise quality of an emotion. But the lyric poet must not only render feeling but distance and transmute it into poetry. Thus *Paene Insularum, Cui Dono, Iam ver*, fall short, and *Ile mi par—* Surely no one but a god
(Or Adversary) could sit like that
Opposite you, watching, taking in
Your pleased laughter.
When I, torment, feel my whole body
Lapse out at the first sight of you.
My mouth is drained of voice, my tongue
Stopped . . .

loses almost entirely the quality that makes the original one of the most famous pieces in classical literature. *Miser Catulle* also badly lacks artistic distancing. Contrasting these pieces with the original or with say, Ben Jonson's "Come my Cella," one may feel that Mr. Buckley is hampered by a theory of translation which lays too much stress on rendering the subtleties and precisions of statement, too little on re-creating the artistic quality of the original work.

But the real invigorating influence of the classics appears, I think, not in the Catullus translations, but in the fourth section, in poems like *Shining Earth, Places*, and *Ovid Metamorphosed*; e.g. Under this fresh star I know the wind
Climbing, the demons thudding in my

roof,
The locusts shivering on the rough bark,
The rivers' rise, the mountains in my bones.

There is here the familiar intuition of a divinity seen in nature, but—whether from Ovid or Virgil or Catullus—a new kind of sensibility has crept in, and it is a classical rather than a Christian numen that the poet perceives in nature.

Finally, and most competent examples of the new approach, are the "Eleven Political Poems," e.g. *Youth Leader*.
In the wedge head the eyes are

roo glibly moved, under hair combed forward
In the Roman fashion.

A program in a hair style.
His torso holds the promise of a paunch.
He is big with history
And the streets go crazy at his lifted hand.
How many dead will bloat the gutters
When he learns to lower it.

The neatness and precision of this type of writing will speak for themselves, but perhaps one should see a debit side too. Despite the greater objectivity one still gets a sense throughout *Arcady* that the poet is (as Jung would say) "projecting" himself too much upon a passive world. Mr. Buckley sometimes seems to me enormously articulate, but within a narrow and predetermined range. In the context of the whole book one may need to see those two last lines—"how many dead . . ."—as being much less humorous and more pretentious than they first seemed. The line pauses seem designed to import an unjustified note of ominousness, and the precise articulation of "A program in a hair style"

is no guarantee of overall balance. As it were, the restricted circle of perception has been closed before the process of articulation began.

This caveat may seem petty. One cannot demand the many-sided objectivity of an Horatian Ode in such expanded epigrams as these; but still it seems to me that all the political poems are significantly more one-sided than the poet need have made them.

Such slightly unbalanced gestures these are sighs, I think, that the original conflict between Buckley as romantic/mystic and Buckley as analytic observer still continues. The pressure of a desire to see the mundane world in terms of transcendent good and evil, abetted by a slightly humourless cast of mind and a kind of spiritual theatricalism, can still make him lose his grip on reality.

Max Harris' comment "A natural romantic who has denatured his poetic resources" remains arguable; but the truth is that Mr. Buckley has chosen to try to bring his natural romantic dispositions into harmony with his observations of reality; and the working out of this struggle is one of the chief concerns of his poetry.

Mark O'Connor

mr. notwithstanding

If you want to get with it, go to the *Aspects of New British Art* at the Albert Hall, a display that has bewildered much of Canberra's exhibition-viewing public. There is considerable dispute as to whether it marks an advance in art, a dead end, or a retreat.

In their catalogues its sponsors tell us we are witnessing a vital and adventurous breaking out from the old provincialism of English art into an "urgent," "international" outlook—with Francis Bacon possibly the only go-between. Although the expressionism of the American action painting of the 50's had little influence on the British, its colder, more detached successors, pop, op, and hard-edge abstraction, have opened the eyes of British artists to the possibility of expressing themselves "in any form, with any subject matter and in any media."

This sort of account, however, is as little help to Mr. Notwithit, who finds these paintings bleak and lifeless. Their simple flat areas leave little room for his private projections. At this he feels cheated: a painting, like a lover, seems useless if emotionally indifferent or cold. This sense of deprivation begins to haunt our viewer as he wanders amongst the vast inhuman canvases. He finds them sinister, perhaps distressing. Why were they painted? Even if he wonders this on his regular visits to the Theatre Centre Gallery, he then at least has enough grasp of their ideological backgrounds to reject them with peace of mind. But the British exhibition seems devoid of ideology, a kind of anti-art.

So Mr. N. ruminates. His under-

standing would have to be more complete if he had noted the affinities between the post W.W.I. Dadaist movement and the Pop or Neo Dada tradition which has led to the new British art.

For a broader picture it is worth looking at the manifestos of the American Pop movement, which declare that art must first be totally despised, thought totally pointless, before it can once more come into its own. Dada objects and gestures were intended to shock the people out of the ruts of their esthetic perceptions. Pop, with its stream of pointless exhibits, trivia and gratuitous happenings, can no longer hope to awaken through shock. These are like humorless jokes, repeated over and over till they are seen as threats. It is felt that with the collapse of faith in artistic, religious and political dreams, bluster, arbitrary correspondences and total artificiality are the only possibilities. Unable to decide what they should do, soon men no longer know what they would like to do. Out of this confusion, a passion emerges for "creativity" in itself. The act gains precedence over the object created, the "that" of a painting over the "what," its existence over its content. There is talk of "a void that drives man outwards, the need to obtain a proof of his own existence, through the medium of the object, because the subject, man himself, is lost."

Although much of the present exhibition seems to proceed from this Dada platform, the sensationalism is less vulgar than the American Pop whose hollow hopes of a hamburger heaven are

relaxed here into a sarcastic but perhaps touching effort to continue capturing some of the landscape effects that absorbed the "provincial" British painters. We are exposed to images resembling blurred blown-up microscope cross-sections of plants, to hard-edge suggestions of ponds blazing with multicoloured striped lilies, and of aerial photographs of hills, fields roads and rivers partly overlapped by map gridings. Most of the paintings are deliberately two-dimensional. In some, mock wire-netting or fragments of classical pop checkerboards mingle with map, garden, wallpaper, and other cosmopolitan interior effects. But the particular elements chosen do not seem to matter very much. They are arbitrary or conventional or sentimental. Little symbolic point is made by their juxtapositions. They are simply coloured counters in a purely formal arrangement, which, apparently quite innocent, sounds sinister if we see the hard cold bright colours and shapes as being without "point," just as "Nature" is, and existing as a second, substitute Nature, one that mocks its creators, and is utterly indifferent to human hungers, like original Nature as sometimes conceived.

The exhibition's canvases are often very large, considering their content, as if to make no bones about their claim to the right of existing, and for kicks, framed in parallelograms, hexagons or less easily describable shapes. Sedgely's hexagons exemplify one of the Op messages: the canvas is covered with parallel rows of evenly spaced dots such that each dot is equidistant from its six near-

est neighbours. The dots are luminous and blurred so that the viewer feels uncomfortable as if his eyes were out of focus giving double-vision. In trying to grasp or control this effect the eye automatically begins to join these patterns by series of lines. But this can be done in a variety of incompatible ways, each of them as warranted as a member of others, even considerations of simplicity in this activity giving no definite cues, so that the eye gives up hopelessly, in search of something more comfortable, less ambiguous, to rest on. It is in this way that such a painting may be seen as a parable of human awareness in general: we can only endure what our perception has already twisted to its own ends.

And these are points that *Aspects of New British Art* has made, in spite of or by way of the smell of decay and dissection chambers, the caricatures of familiar modes, the mock-nostalgia, the new matings between the corpses of pre-war styles, that disturbed Mr. Notwithit. (e.g. Kandinski-ized Mondrian pepped up with a few shots of the sort of hard-edge that looks like ossified splash-and-dribble expressionism). These, at least, are the intentions in theory of this trend in art. Whether or not the paintings themselves succeed in revealing them is partly the decision of the man in the street, who will find, I hope, that some of the exhibits are not merely convenient sophisticated ink-blot for easing the obsessions of mad art critics.

Harry Abraham